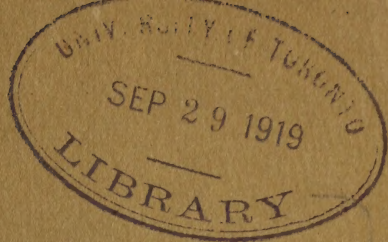


Leon.
A.



The Commonwealth Review

of the
University of Oregon

Board of Editors :

The Faculty of the Department of Economics and Sociology, of
History and of School of Education

Managing Editor, F. G. Young

New Series

Vol. 1

April, 1919

No. 1



X Housing Problem In Portland

Suggestions From Great Britain's Experience With Housing
Problem

by Thomas Adams



Commonwealth Planning and Development

Financing of State Enterprises

Abounding Energy of Oregon In War Work To Be Turned To
Oregon Planning and Development

Published Quarterly by the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice, Eugene, Oregon

CONTENTS

Forward	1
THE EDITOR	
The Housing Problem in Portland	2-12
THOMAS ADAMS	
Suggestions from the Experience of Great Britain with the Housing Problem	13-24
THOMAS ADAMS	
Some Principles of Planning and Development in Oregon	25-38
THOMAS ADAMS	
Financing State Enterprises	39-47
A. L. MILLS	
Oregon's Abounding Energy in War Work to Be Turned to Oregon Planning and Development	48-50

The Commonwealth Review

of the University of Oregon

New Series

Vol. 1

April, 1919

No. 1

Foreword

THE planning, financing and carrying through of rural and urban development and state-wide enterprise are now due in Oregon. The Oregon spirit of loyalty shone resplendent in the trying tests of war. The Oregon people acquitted themselves nobly in their part in the campaigns for the preservation of freedom and democracy. Why should they not be equally preeminent in their collective achievements in the arts and activities of peace? Their motives and objectives are now different. They are constructive and creative as compared with the defensive and destructive aims of war. To the support of the spirit of loyalty they will now summon the spirit of aspiration or the spirit of "loyalty to loyalty."

The three addresses on the different phases of the problem of housing and town and city planning by Thomas Adams were delivered before the sessions of the Tenth Annual Commonwealth Conference, held in Portland on July 12-13.

Thomas Adams as housing and town planning adviser of the commission of conservation of the Dominion of Canada has for several years been encouraging and guiding our neighbors on the north in their endeavor to make Canada the best land in which to live.

The paper on "Financing State Enterprises" was presented by Hon. A. L. Mills, president of the First National Bank of Portland, before the Reconstruction Congress, held in Portland on January 9-10.

It is believed that these two writers present the safest and clearest counsel on what should be the leading interest of the Oregon citizen at this time.

The Housing Problem In Portland

The chief test of the perfect city. Is the problem of housing in Portland permanent or temporary? The development of material and human resources. Future development of shipbuilding industry. The example of Great Britain. Housing and industrial unrest. Bad social conditions a menace to democracy. The under-development of the West. Difficulties to be overcome in government housing schemes.

I AM grateful for the kind words which were spoken by the chairman and mayor and for the response which has been given to their welcome to me. I am also grateful to you for inviting me to Portland. We have in Canada the same kinds of problems that you have in the United States and we can always benefit each other by an exchange of views.

THE CHIEF TEST OF THE PERFECT CITY

The mayor has said that this is the most perfect city in the world. I am not going to be drawn into expressing my real opinion on that subject, but I will tell him the first test I would apply to a perfect city. It would have all its able-bodied citizens housed under such conditions that they would not only be efficient workers in its industries, but have their children growing up in airy and sunny homes without any danger of suffering from the handicap of those diseases which are created by bad sanitation and environment; every house would be in a proper sanitary condition, with separate water supply and so constructed as to be durable and healthy. Where the citizens are living in these conditions you have the things chiefly needed to make the perfect city. Secondly, in the perfect city, you would have not only clean government but an expert organization, having the scientific data necessary to enable the citizens to deal intelligently with each crisis in its affairs. If there were a falling off in the population, so that there resulted a great depreciation in the value of property and a decrease of the occupancy of buildings; or if there were an occasion when all the houses were nearly full and a probability existed of greatly increasing the population the city government would have the material and the knowledge ready to deal with that situation. No advice from the outside

can give that knowledge where it is needed. In just such a crisis in your affairs you need an intimate survey of your conditions; as if you were a manufacturer engaged in the business of developing a great industry which had to be expanded to meet some abnormal situation.

IS THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING IN PORTLAND PERMANENT OR TEMPORARY?

I hope that you in Portland are ready to deal with your situation from an intimate knowledge of all the data required properly to solve your problems. The first thing you have to know is whether your present conditions require temporary or permanent treatment. I see that some clerical gentleman suggests that it is a temporary problem you have to deal with and he proposes to solve it by a temporary expedient. He says: Why not convert your obsolete loft buildings, warehouses and residences which are in bad condition into homes for your new industrial workmen. I am surprised that he does not recommend the conversion of garages and other out-buildings into dwellings as has been proposed in Philadelphia. Let me ask him a practical question. Why doesn't the manufacturer confronted with the need of enlarging his plant go out to the dump and scrap heap and collect all of the scraps of obsolete machinery and put them into the factory, instead of getting new machinery? He does not need any new machinery merely to enlarge his plant, when old scraps are available. He needs the new machinery because as a practical man he knows it is the only way to make his business profitable. The sort of policy you would be pursuing if you were to proceed to reconstruct your old warehouses and loft buildings for the purpose of housing the chief raw material of your industry would be directly contrary to the sound practice which the manufacturer pursues. Then, apart from the immediate practical aspect of the question, what of the material and moral effects on the future of your citizenship? Remember that where you house the workers, you must also house their wives and children. That it is seriously suggested at this time of day, and from such a source, that you should condemn your American mothers and their offspring to live in con-

verted loft buildings, with the degrading and insanitary conditions of the tenement rookeries that are usually created under such circumstances, indicates a tragic indifference to the real issues at stake in connection with the building up of the social and industrial life of this country in the future. And, make no mistake, this indifference represents the prevailing rather than the isolated point of view in your country, as in mine. While there is no nation which has had the resourcefulness of this nation of which you are citizens in employing new methods and the enterprise in scrapping old methods; or that has used its best inventive genius in promoting scientific manufacture, yet this question of abandoning what is out of date and inefficient has not been your policy with regard to the housing of your people any more than with us. You seem to assume that that question can be left to take care of itself, whereas it needs the guidance, leadership and inventiveness of your best men just as much as your other problems of industrial expansion. Remember, there was a housing question in the United States before this war. There were cities in this country where you had hundreds of human beings herded together on an acre of land and where you had repeated the evils of congestion which we have been fighting against for generations in older countries.

Whether you look upon it as a temporary or permanent problem has an important bearing on your whole attitude on commonwealth problems. May I ask you this? Do you look upon this commonwealth as a temporary or permanent commonwealth? Do you look upon it as a stand-still institution, or one that is likely to be progressive? Well, if you do look upon it as one that is going to stand still, I am afraid you are not going to fulfill your responsibilities, and I say that with perfect frankness, for although I am a visitor I want to speak frankly to you.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Consider your resources and opportunities. How are these resources going to be developed? The material resources are worth nothing in themselves. The resources of your farms,

mines, forests and manufacturing industries are proportionate to the application of human skill and industry to their development, and just as you maintain and keep your population healthy and well housed you will be able adequately to develop these resources and create wealth. To develop your natural resources you must increase your population, and, as you increase your population you must have more houses. But increase of population is not enough; you must secure, maintain and develop a high average level of physical fitness and skill in your population, and to get the desirable kind of increase you must provide the needed housing accommodation in advance. In proportion as you provide good accommodation you will attract a good type of citizen, and quality is even more important than quantity.

Looking at your problem as a whole the provision of improved and increased accommodation for the people can not be otherwise, in a progressive community of this kind, than a permanent problem, as well as a problem of great urgency and importance. Of course I admit that the question of housing for the ship-building population may, in part, be a temporary problem. You want a large amount of tonnage in a short time. You want houses at once and you want to feel that you are not devoting time to this question that you ought to be giving to the building of ships. Well, there are some of you engaged in the building of ships whose attention ought not to be distracted from that problem to that of housing. But, there are plenty of citizens who can solve the problem if they choose. There are qualities of leadership still amongst you and money to solve the problem in the right way. While it may be necessary to provide some temporary accommodation, the utmost discretion and care is needed in doing so and this should be exercised by a group of men and women giving individual attention to the matter.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY

The ship-building industry will create new opportunities for developing other industries. In this country there is being established a great mercantile marine. You are going to carry your own goods across the seas in the future instead

of depending upon the bottoms of other nations. You are not going to scrap the fine vessels that you are building today, and, above all, you are not going to scrap, what is more valuable, namely, the human skill and industry which you have created in this great crisis to build these ships. We have, in Canada, during this war, created about 200,000 unskilled laborers into skilled laborers. We have eight million people and you have one hundred million. By converting unskilled laborers into skilled laborers, you are creating sources of wealth which, rightly used and organized, will supply you with more than the material wastage of this war in a few years after the war is over. You have an opportunity of utilizing a new army of skilled laborers whose surplus production will provide you with ample resources to make up for losses. The skilled laborer, coupled with capital and organization is largely the producer of wealth. The unskilled laborer is often a burden on the community.

THE EXAMPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain has been as slow as any other country in taking advantage of lessons which were derived from the war. Great Britain, like the United States, entered into this war under two disadvantages: one of these was that, being a peace loving nation, she was unprepared for war. You, also, were unprepared for war and it is no discredit to you. You were forced into the war as a result of uncivilized practices. The time for preparation came when you saw the menace of these practices to civilization, and neither Britain nor the United States can be criticised because they failed to anticipate the barbarous practices of Germany. That was a disadvantage that neither country could escape. The other disadvantage, however, is one in regard to which our countries are not free from blame. They have been blindly following the practice of all industrial nations in neglecting properly to control and regulate the new forms of community life that have grown up during the last sixty years in great cities and towns as a result of the continued development of manufacturing industry. It is not so long since most of our people were engaged in agriculture. Now we are living in an age

of great cities and of huge industrial aggregations of people. We have allowed dense industrial masses of building to grow up largely with the kind of machinery and system we used to apply to our rural conditions. This is especially true in regard to the housing conditions of the workers.

I notice in one of your journals that 600 new inventions have been adopted in connection with military and naval operations in this country. How many new inventions have you seen used, even in late years, for the improving of housing conditions? And yet, efficiency and output in manufacture depend on these conditions. Great Britain has partly corrected that mistake. She did not do so when the war started, but about a year after when she found that she did not have sufficient munitions, she appointed a committee of highly trained experts and investigated the question of industrial fatigue. I am not going to deal with the report of that commission, but I am going to tell you the results in general terms. Since 1915, Great Britain has enormously increased its output of munitions. She has not done that by pressing and bribing labor to extra exertion, but by the scientific organization of labor, by lessening rather than increasing the pressure, and above all by making labor contented by providing good homes and recreation facilities. New towns have been created with permanent homes, churches, theatres, picture houses, dance halls for the girls, recreation grounds and other social facilities at the expense of the government, and with government organization. On the occasion of a visit to England, last November, I saw one new village at Woolwich, consisting of permanent homes, provided with modern systems of water supply and sewage disposal. It had been built in nine months and was occupied by over six thousand people. In the entirely new town of Gretna, there were 15,000 people, mostly living in permanent homes. Thousands of girls from good homes all over the country were living in that town and were taken care of by a system which ministered to their comfort, and looked after their moral welfare, as well as if they were under their mothers' care. In the public kitchen they cooked about 17,000 meals a day for workers engaged in the factory. I have briefly referred to these examples out of

many to show you that Great Britain, which is five hours from the war, whereas you are 10 days from the war, is not neglecting her social problems during the war. Loft buildings, old warehouses and garages are not being converted into dwellings in Britain. They started to erect temporary wooden structures, but they later abandoned that method. They wanted good workers and had to provide good homes. You can get men to come to Portland without building a single house, or by being content with temporary homes. You do not need to make your homes sanitary in order to get men. You will get them of a kind. But the best and most efficient labor will go where there are good houses to be obtained, and it is there that the best results will be achieved. A man who is intelligent enough to be a good workman will use his intelligence for the benefit of his wife and children and will see that they are provided with a good home, with good water and good social environment.

HOUSING AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST

How are we going to deal with the industrial unrest in the future if we continue building up slums in our cities? I am not saying that you have any slums in Portland today, but if you deal with the present demand for houses by means of a purely temporary scheme you are going to create slums which will be a menace to your industries in the future. Every man who is badly housed is a potential striker. It is the ignorant slum-dweller who is most incapable of seeing two sides to a question.

BAD SOCIAL CONDITIONS A MENACE TO DEMOCRACY

Berlin, in Germany, can afford to have 65 per cent of its people living in five-roomed tenements. It can have 65 per cent living in two-roomed dwellings. It can have 17 per cent of its births illegitimate and 25 per cent more of tuberculosis than London. Germany does not depend upon the intelligence of her people for the making of her laws and her government and, therefore, can afford to have bad social conditions. But we depend for the support of our democratic institutions in Canada and the United States in building up an intelligent

people to give us good government. That the quality and character of our governments depend upon the quality and character of the people who elect them is accepted by everybody as a truism, but we allow other influences to prevent us from acting upon it.

THE UNDER DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

It is of special importance that the western states and provinces of this continent should provide the stimuli necessary to promote further development of their resources. The United States, as well as Canada, has developed more on the eastern than the western seaboard. That was natural in the past. I have a diagram here which shows that one of the principal causes of your inability to produce more supplies for war purposes is unequal distribution of your industrial life. There are three sections shown on this small plat. One section is the eastern states, consisting of all those lying to the east of a line drawn through St. Louis and Chicago, and to the north of a line between St. Louis and Philadelphia. That section has 11 per cent of area of the States and 44 per cent of the population. Some day soon, it will have half the population—that is, if the population continues in the present ratio of increase. In this section, where we now are, to the west of the line between Chicago and St. Louis, you have 74 per cent of the area of the United States with only 35 per cent of the population. You have 252 people for every mile of railroad as against 693 people to every mile of railroad in the eastern states. You have only four men per mile on your railroad system as against 11 men per mile on the eastern railroad system. Of all the manufactured goods produced in the United States, 70 per cent is made in that eastern part of the United States. This is due to the fact that the distribution of coal and iron and the improvement of the transportation facilities have been adjusted to supply that part of this country with the means of building up its industries. But industrial concentration can be overdone. At the present time, the congestion in those eastern states is giving serious trouble. I maintain that you have somehow or other to plan and develop these western states so as simultaneously to relieve the congestion in the east and build up a great west.

DIFFICULTIES TO BE OVERCOME IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING SCHEMES

The provision of houses by any other agency than that of private enterprise is beset with difficulties. Many difficulties arise from the fact that we do not really study the question. We let things drift until a crisis arises and then we deal with it hurriedly and without adequate thought. Under such conditions, mistakes are inevitable and, unfortunately, we allow our experience of these mistakes to excuse our indifference and inaction when the emergency is over. If we only give continuous application and skilled administration to this problem, we can overcome its difficulties. You have had some unfortunate experiences in Portland attendant upon real estate speculation and over-production of houses. You have found that it did not pay to have a large number of empty houses on your hands. It is natural after such an experience that you should hesitate to build permanent houses to meet what you think may be a temporary demand. But your previous experience of over-production was due to speculation by the owners of real estate who pushed forward development beyond what was justified by conditions. They were not meeting a demand so much as creating one for their own profit. Had the conditions been properly studied, over-production might have been avoided. Do you know enough about your conditions today? Are you satisfied that if you build 10,000 houses now you will be able to handle them when the war is over and the present pressure of ship-building has ceased? If you are not, it is because you haven't given the question the study and thought that it needs. Surely a city like Portland can plan to maintain permanently an increase of 50,000 to its population after the war. But you must plan and you must study your problem as a whole. You should make a complete survey of the situation so that you will know where to start to build and where the houses you build are to be used after the war is over. You should make use of the present opportunity to help you in building up a greater and better Portland for the future. First make sure of your facts, and study your conditions.

When the war is over and we have to count the cost of housing by government agencies it will not do for us to forget that it will be futile to make any comparisons between public and private enterprise, based on the experience of war housing schemes. The government is dealing with a situation so beset with difficulties that private enterprise can not deal with it. A proper comparison can only be made where the circumstances are equally favorable. The difficulties of obtaining labor and money at the present time mean that the private speculator has ceased to exist as a factor in the building of houses. The figures used by the chairman show this is true. What is the situation? The war has withdrawn all the surplus labor from the market. The government is borrowing our money—all we can afford to give to it, at a rate of interest which before the war we were unable to get from such a safe security. That rate of interest is adequate for those who want an absolutely stable form of investment. That money is being extracted from the pockets of those who formerly used a large portion of it for building houses. Then there is no certainty that the revenue obtainable from houses will be sufficient after the war to enable a man to realize 75 per cent of the amount of his investment. This makes it certain that we are not going to have much, if any, housing in the next few years until economic conditions can become stabilized. That is why the responsibility for housing has been transferred to the government. In Canada, we have been taught to favor private enterprise. We are a country of pioneers, who have built up our national life largely as a result of individual initiative. Private speculators have gone into the prairies and forests and created fertile farms and built cities out of small means and with hard work and after great hardship. It is difficult for us to realize that it is necessary for the government to step in and do what private enterprise has accomplished, unaided, in the past. Your people have gone through the same experience and have similar ideas. But we are at war. In connection with the winning of the war your congress has been satisfied that exceptional means must be used to deal with the exceptional circumstances. You must have houses to make munitions and build ships. Private enterprise is unable to provide the houses. I understand

that some Portland citizens have opposed asking the government for aid in housing schemes on the ground that the government would give the preference in letting of contracts for ship-building to cities which did not need aid in building houses. In my judgment, that is the proper attitude to take with the government. You should not camouflage the situation by saying "Give us ships to build. We are not going to say anything about houses. We will let you guess we have them." If you take that attitude it is probable that a time will come when you will find you have a shortage of output because you did not face the situation frankly at the beginning, and you will then realize, when it is too late, that you have made a mistake. You should say to the government, as you should to a manufacturer who wanted to come to your city: "Come to our city and build your ships or your factory and we will provide houses for you as quickly as you want them."

Houses can not be provided at the present time to yield a direct profit. It is right that the national government should face a loss which is due to war conditions, and has to be incurred because of war demands. Your government is apparently prepared to face that loss and it is right that you should get its assistance to deal with your local situation.

With regard to the kind of organization which you should create to carry out your housing schemes, I hope to deal with that in some detail this evening. It will no doubt be necessary for you to form a housing company to prepare and execute a program, after proper consideration of the difficulties. Valuable time is being lost. Let me repeat that it is of urgent importance that a survey of your conditions should be made at once, having in view not only the ascertainment of facts relating to the emergency with which you are now confronted, but also relating to the future development and expansion of the social and industrial life of this city and of the commonwealth of which it is the industrial metropolis.

Suggestions From the Experience of Great Britain With the Housing Problem

THIS evening my intention is to supplement the observations made earlier in the day with regard to the necessity of permanent schemes of housing, to tell you something of what Britain is doing to solve the housing problem and to make one or two practical suggestions regarding the solution of your own problem.

The problem of war housing is simply a temporary phase of the general problem of housing the industrial classes, which is always with us. The drift of population from one part of the country to another has been intensified but not created by war industries. It is due to incidents in connection with industrial development during times of peace as well as during times of war, and creates difficulties in some parts of the country that are the result of congestion and in other parts that are the result of diminished population which is followed by depreciation of property. There are also transitory forms of drift such as is created in connection with the lumber industries, which takes men to different places at different times of the year.

Then there is a permanent tendency of population to migrate from rural to urban districts and this increases during the time of war. There is the further problem still, which is so evident at the present time, due to the attraction of men to special localities where large industrial plants, including ship-building plants, are being operated for war purposes. If we learn how to deal with these phases of the housing problem at the present time it will be of great value in enabling us to try the right kind of solution on the general problem, which is similar in character, though not so intense, during times of peace.

AT THE ROOT A LAND QUESTION

Most people who have given the housing problem consideration believe that, at the root, it is a land question. When prices are normal and labor is plentiful and we have good plans in operation for the development of our towns and cities, and when we have a proper return being paid to the

producer, we should have no difficulty in securing to every worker access to sufficient land to give him such an environment as is needed to bring up healthy children and to enable him and his wife to enjoy the spaciousness and amenities of a real home. At any rate we have plenty of land for the purpose. For some reason or other, whether it be neglect or misfortune, a great many, perhaps a majority, of the people in this country and in Canada, have to be content with an environment that falls far short of that ideal. They have to live in dark rooms. They have to submit to excessive risk of fire because of building congestion and the poor character of the construction. In Canada we suffer from the highest fire losses in the world. Mr. J. Grove Smith, fire prevention expert to the commission of conservation, is responsible for the statement that fire losses average \$3.75 per capita in Canada as compared with an average of about 40 cents per capita in European countries.* You, in the United States, have the distinction of being second only to Canada in the matter of fire waste. This preeminence is undoubtedly due to our failure to control building construction and to secure satisfactory building codes, and this excess charge for fire losses, including what we pay for fire insurance and fire prevention, can only be reduced by the provision of durable and properly regulated housing conditions for the working classes. For one thing we do not give sufficient attention to the relation between dwellings and the municipal improvements which are carried out around them. A dwelling consists of three things: there is the building which we often assume to be the complete dwelling; there is the site upon which the building stands and there are the local improvements which provide the means of access to and from the dwellings, and of supplying them with water and of disposing of their wastes by drainage. Street space and air space are often confused as the same thing. Air space is the space allotted between dwellings. Wide streets do not necessarily imply that buildings have sufficient air space. The most congested buildings have been erected on sites having a frontage on wide and

* See *Fire Waste in Canada*, by J. Grove Smith, an exhaustive study of conditions responsible for the tremendous waste of property and life by fire.—Commission of Conservation, 1918.

costly streets. You should permit no confusion regarding this matter to come into your housing codes which should provide for buildings having ample light and air, independent of the question of width of streets, and at the rear as well as at the front. If we plan our towns and cities in the right way we can get enough land round our dwellings so that everyone will have enough light and air. We should get rid of the idea that the health and life of our people should be left to take care of themselves and that building development should be left to grow up, like Topsy, anyhow.

Those who have watched the building of houses for the working classes or the haphazard growth of our towns and cities must have noticed that there has been little improvement in our methods during the last 30 or 40 years. In Baltimore you will find the homes of working men planned today exactly as they were 30 or 40 years ago. In New York and Philadelphia entirely different systems prevail and little change in plan or type has been made in the last 40 years. We have been the slaves of custom in this matter. Little improvement has been made because we are allowing our building schemes to be dictated by the customs and prejudices of the ignorant or self-interested. We need the best ability applied to the solution of this problem. We have not applied that ability for, while our knowledge has been growing and our experience has been accumulating, our methods have remained stationary.

I have said that the land question has a good deal to do with our housing difficulties. I have studied the land question in both Great Britain and Canada very closely for many years. The conditions in the two countries are entirely different. One is the outgrowth of the feudal system of land tenure. This system has been the cause of many evils, but neither the system nor its results has any extensive parallel on this continent. The other condition is the outgrowth of the system which we, in Canada, borrowed from you when you homesteaded your rural lands and planned rectangular townsites and building blocks without regard to topography. We borrowed the quarter section and the square mile system of subdivision from you and made the mistake, in laying out our land, of ignoring the hills and valleys and swamps. We made our plans in rectangular pattern with utter disregard to

physical features, economic use of land, or modern requirements of business and traffic. We have not recognized that land ought to be laid out for the purpose of economical use and not for the purpose of either making it appear symmetrical on paper or for speculation.

I want to say something in reply to those who think there is something meritorious in land speculation. Speculation in land produces, insofar as it produces anything, high land values, and insofar as it does so it creates a tax upon all forms of industry. The higher the values of land are in this city the greater the annual charge for interest on that cost to those who require it for use, and that annual charge is a tax upon the industry of the community, whether the land is used for a home, an industrial site or a playground. The lower the capital value of land, so long as it is a stable value and provides good security for investment, the better it is for the community which enjoys access to the land at the lowest price. That is a strong statement to make and it is always difficult for people to comprehend it, especially for the people who own land which they wish to sell. But land speculation not only causes land to be expensive but adds to the cost of local improvements. It does this by encouraging the scattered and wasteful system of development with its thousands of vacant lots which you see all round this city. In both respects it adds greatly to the difficulties of providing cheap and healthy housing accommodation.

It is when we appreciate the intimacy of the relation between the land and housing questions, and the extent to which good housing conditions are dependent on the proper development and planning of the land for building purposes, that we are made to realize the importance of proper city planning in connection with housing schemes. Air space and ventilation within houses and density of population per room are matters for regulation by housing codes; but air space outside of houses, density of population per acre, and provision for traffic between houses and places of employment are included in the matters which should be regulated by city planning schemes. Failure to make housing schemes a success has frequently been due to overlooking the fact that such schemes should conform to proper plans of development of the

land, and on the other hand many city planning schemes have been failures in improving social conditions because their promoters have failed to recognize that housing is an integral part of city planning.

Civilized countries have made good progress during the last century in improving sanitation and raising the standard of housing conditions on the average, but that progress has been largely discounted by the evils caused by the want of proper regulation and planning of the land which has been covered by our increasing urban aggregations of population. It is surprising to find how little real progress we have made in regard to laying-out and development of our cities during the many centuries that the art of town planning has been practiced. Progress has been interrupted by periods of inaction and reaction.

TOWN PLANNING IN BRITAIN

Several interesting town planning schemes were carried out during the latter part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century. The first plan of the new city of Edinburgh was prepared by Craig, a nephew of the poet Thomson, in 1890, and a second plan in 1900. Washington was planned by L'Enfant in 1791. Scotland has neglected to follow up the example of Edinburgh as you have neglected to make good use of the example afforded by the initiative and foresight of your statesmen who planned your great capital.

Whatever may have been the cause of this neglect it appears to have been coincident with the coming of the railways and the development of the industrial era which followed. Indifference to scientific methods of development appears to have been encouraged by inability to appreciate the changes in social life which followed in the wake of the progress of methods of transportation and the growth of manufacturing industries. Yet one of the consequences of that progress and growth was to produce the great cities of today and one of the things which should have accompanied both was the development of the art of city planning. For want of that development the social environment and housing conditions of our industrial communities have failed to show much improvement notwithstanding the material progress of our industries and our increasing knowledge and wealth.

The plan of the city of Edinburgh was followed until the arrival of the railways and we can trace the failure to complete the execution of the plan from the time when railway tracks and termini were introduced into the heart of the city.

When Americans visit Europe they are apt to gather their impressions of housing conditions from what they see of buildings erected in medieval times, rather than from the modern suburbs that have been built in recent years. Yet it is the latter rather than the former that need to be observed by the student of housing reform to enable him to appreciate the tendencies towards improvement in housing conditions. The tenement buildings in the old part of York have to be contrasted with the garden suburbs that are being created for workers in the growing industries of today, if we are to understand the housing question of that city. A great part of the working population of England still live in bad houses erected in past centuries, but the typical workingclass dwelling of modern times is the self-contained cottage home, erected in groups or rows, in the main uninteresting, monotonous, and lacking in cheerfulness and spacious environment, but free from the defects of the tenement and on the whole sanitary and well ventilated. The garden suburbs of Earswick, Bournville, Port Sunlight and Hampstead and the garden city of Letchworth represent a great advance in the architecture and surroundings of this type. They are the outcome of private rather than of public enterprise, but, as is often the case, they are giving guidance to those who are responsible for public policy. In particular they have demonstrated that housing reform must be accompanied by planning if satisfactory progress is to be made.

Town planning in Britain differs from the city planning that has hitherto been the fashion in this country. In the first place, town planning legislation is an integral part of housing legislation. In the second place, town planning schemes are prepared by municipal authorities under state supervision and deal only with matters that can be carried out under the financial provisions included in the schemes. Main arterial highways are planned, but the planning of intervening subdivisions and streets is left to be governed under elastic provisions determining the principles on which they may be

laid out. By preparing these schemes attention can be given to the securing of easy grades in undulating areas and the expensive and inconvenient results of the rectangular system, such as you see in Seattle, can be avoided.

Berlin and other German cities are often quoted as examples of efficiency. But the housing conditions of Berlin are notoriously bad. They have tier after tier of crowded tenements hidden away behind their stately boulevards, helping to pay for the ostentatious effect of their city planning schemes by crowded and insanitary homes. This is the kind of city planning that we have to avoid. The test of good city planning and efficiency in municipal government is in the extent to which they conserve the health of the people, and, judged by that standard, the German people are deplorably inefficient. They are carrying out schemes of housing improvement in some German cities, notably at Essen, for housing munition workers, but these are mostly for well paid artisans and staff workers in isolated industries. The majority of the working class are housed in crowded and badly ventilated tenements as shown by the figures I quoted with regard to Berlin earlier in the day.

A good deal has been said and published in America with reference to the war housing schemes that are being carried out in England. Last year I visited one of these at Wellhall, Woolwich. During the year 1915, starting in February and building to December of the same year, this town was completed. It took nine months to build homes for 6,000 people. Permanent houses, streets, sewers and water mains were constructed. This was done when every railroad in England was congested, carrying military stores and troops to the sea ports. The houses are constructed in groups and not in separate buildings. By building in groups it is practicable to make them more durable and sanitary and yet keep the cost down to the level that is required by the working man. The saving in the cost of land development in erecting groups is used to improve the dwelling.

In connection with the development of towns in Canada we have had a good deal of difficulty in getting good sanitary dwellings at a price that working men can afford to pay because of the fashion of building individual houses on sep-

arate lots, and making wide streets. Narrow streets are planned in these English schemes so as to keep down the cost of improvements and enable more money to be invested in the dwelling. Houses may be erected in groups and yet have abundance of light and air. If you have scattered houses you must put in more local improvements at a greater cost per house, or, as frequently happens, you do without the local improvements in workingclass districts owing to their excessive cost.

Another example of a war town in Britain is that of Gretna in Scotland. Before 1915 the village of Gretna consisted of a few cottages, a church, a manse, a small saloon and a few farmers. I went there last October and saw two towns in the same neighborhood occupied by 15,000 people, mostly workers in new munition factories. Permanent houses have been built to fulfill temporary needs. Groups of houses, that will be occupied by families after the war is over, have been erected without interior partitions and are used as temporary hostels for the women. All of this is being done in conformity with a plan of development that has in view the continued use of the town for industrial purposes when peace returns.

In England they have come to realize the importance of spending their money to better advantage than in temporary construction. In the two towns they have managers of welfare for girls and social secretaries. Each of the matrons of the women hostels is in touch with a welfare manager. To get contented workers and the maximum of output it has been found that it is not only necessary to provide homes for the workers in these ammunition factories but also means of recreation, comprising parks, social institutes and picture palaces. The cinema palace in Gretna holds six hundred persons, and there is a hall where 1,100 persons can dance, which is used as a gymnasium during the day. There are also permanent churches designed by the best architects.

These examples of what is being done in Britain should inspire us on this continent to take more interest in the housing of the people. We have bad housing conditions in the country districts as well as in the cities. It has been argued that because as many or more defectives were found among new recruits to the army from those who came from

the country than among those who came from the city that cities are therefore healthy places to live in, in spite of overcrowding. What this proves is not that the cities are healthy but that we have bad housing conditions in the country. Bad living conditions, poverty and ignorance create defective and undesirable citizens wherever they may be. Defective minds and lowered vitality are the product of rural as well as of city slums. We should try to combine the ideal conditions of the town and the country and give the city workers more garden space and more space for light and air. On the other hand we should try to transfer some of the social advantages of town life to the rural districts. To begin with we should not condemn men, women and children to live on poor land that can not yield enough profit to make life tolerable and healthy, by making the good land inaccessible to them as a result of speculation and want of planning and classification of rural lands.

Poverty and isolation in the country are largely due to want of proper plans in connection with our schemes of land settlement, and the result is degeneration of a large part of the rural population. In your cities there is plenty of land to provide for healthy housing of the people without resorting to tenements, but in those cases where the method of developing the land and the economic conditions make it necessary to erect tenements you should see that they are provided with ample light and air and with playgrounds for the children.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN PORTLAND

I should like to make a few remarks about the housing conditions in Portland with reference to the ship-building industry and the organization needed to deal with it. The United States has appropriated one hundred and ten million dollars to help solve this question throughout the country. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether the money should be spent on temporary or permanent housing schemes. I understand that the policy of your government is to limit the number of houses constructed to what is necessary for war purposes, but to make them permanent so that they can be used after the war is over. That is a sound policy. Part of the money should be spent in Portland to

provide houses for the shipbuilders. The shipbuilders and manufacturers should be encouraged to assist in providing part of the capital needed to erect houses, and a housing company should be formed to enable this to be done. Real estate owners should be encouraged to build on vacant lots. The city council of Portland should receive financial aid to enable it to carry out a housing scheme of its own in the form of a garden suburb. No agency for the solution of this problem should be neglected, and, under proper regulations, government money should be granted in aid of every properly organized scheme. You will have to utilize every resource you have, in order to solve the problem with which you are now confronted.

The city government in Portland is the nearest one to the people and should take the initiative in carrying out a scheme. It should at least have a housing code that will enable it to prevent the erection of bad and temporary houses; to enforce proper sanitary provisions and to require that the land to be used for the erection of houses shall be planned in such a way as to secure convenience in connection with transportation and a healthy environment around the dwellings, including ample space for light and air.

In addition to an expert organization in the city there should be a director of planning in all the states to cooperate with each of the local bodies and officials in the preparation of schemes. As an ultimate ideal in connection with this matter of organization, I hope to see the day come when you will have a director general of planning for the United States, cooperating with directors of planning in each state and these in their turn cooperating with planning commissions in each municipality.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION FOR CARRYING OUT HOUSING SCHEMES

During peace times the responsibility for financing and supervising housing schemes should rest with the state and municipal governments, acting in cooperation, rather than with the federal government. The state is the constitutional authority in regard to matters connected with municipal government, highways, and land development. The preparation and execution of city planning and housing schemes

involve the placing of restrictions on the use of land so as to prevent bad conditions of development, and as this raises intricate and important questions connected with the right of eminent domain the state is the proper authority to exercise the powers needed to give effect to these restrictions. The actual preparation of schemes should be entrusted to the municipal councils subject to the approval of a skilled department of the state. I am a great believer in self-government and as a British statesman has said, "good government is not a substitute for self-government." Let us have both if we can, but stick to self-government in spite of its faults and dangers. To make democratic self-government efficient, however, requires the liberal employment of skilled advice.

While at the present time it would be unwise to promote schemes, involving public expenditure, that are not directly connected with the prosecution of the war, it would be the height of wisdom to have prepared such city planning and housing schemes, during the war, as are likely to be needed to be carried out after the war. For that purpose the state and the municipality should now have an organization at work. Such an organization should be so equipped as to deal not only with these prospective peace problems but also with the problems that will arise in connection with the ultimate use of buildings likely to be erected for war purposes by the federal government. Unless the federal government intends to maintain a permanent housing organization and to administer the extensive housing schemes it is now promoting you will be faced in the near future with two alternatives, either that the houses erected by the federal government will be sold to individuals for unrestricted possession and at scrap prices, or that the state and municipality will jointly take them over and control them. The latter seems to me to be the proper course. It does not necessarily mean the continuance of public ownership, as one method open to the local governments will be to form a housing company from amongst its best citizens to own and control the buildings, subject to adequate regulations, in the interests of the community.

In my judgment houses, now erected in Portland with public funds should not be sold to private individuals or ordinary commercial corporations. The federal government should

retain the ownership of all houses erected by itself, till after the war, granting leases where security of tenure is desired by the tenants, and, as a sole alternative, it should give grants of money to either a commission appointed jointly by the state and the municipality for purposes of housing administration or to a housing company formed under statutory rules requiring the limitation of dividends payable to shareholders to 7 per cent and subject to public audit of accounts and some measure of supervision by the local governments. Tenants of the houses should be encouraged to take shares in such a company and such tenant shareholders should be represented on the board. By adopting one or other of these policies you will secure the creation of a body able to give continuity of management after, as well as during, the war; you will equip a number of chosen citizens with knowledge, which can only come from practical experience, and you will have an organization capable of making the best use of the buildings when they are no longer wanted for war industries.

Much as I believe in home ownership I do not think it is the function of a government to build and subsidize schemes—for houses built now must be sold at a loss—to provide houses for some members of the community at the expense of other members of the community. There are businesslike ways in which you can deal with this problem without endangering the fundamental principles of equity and social justice that lie at the root of your democratic institutions. Better housing conditions are needed in this country; government initiative and leadership are needed to promote these conditions; public funds must be expended to enable you to deal with the present emergency in Portland and other cities; but care will have to be exercised to prevent the driving in of the thin end of the wedge of charity or the introduction of the slightest element of profiteering at the expense of the public purse. Your policies must aim at preventing decadence of moral character as well as physical deterioration and you in these states, as we in Canada, must take more to heart in connection with all our schemes of war housing and social reconstruction the warning contained in that threadbare couplet of Goldsmith's:

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Some Principles of Planning and Development in Oregon

Commonwealth housing problem. Building on vacant lots in Portland. The healthy character of the small town. Interdependence of town and country. Federal and state organization. Science needed in connection with development in town and country. Transportation by road. The state and the municipality. Need of state housing codes. Land settlement. Regional survey of state resources. Expert advice. Education in relation to state development.

IN view of my lack of knowledge of conditions in your commonwealth I am not entitled to put forward definite proposals with regard to its future development. But, you have problems in this commonwealth—and by the way, I like your name of commonwealth—you have problems similar to those we have in Canada, and Professor Young suggested, in view of my Canadian experience, and in view of what we were doing in Canada, you might be interested in hearing from me in regard to some of the principles of planning and development to which we are seeking to give effect.

Now, I think it is proper that we should use the term, “planning and development” instead of “reconstruction.” The European nations at the present moment are having created ministries of reconstruction. There is a ministry of reconstruction in Great Britain, created under the present war cabinet for the purpose of formulating policies in connection with the reinstatement of the soldier in civil life; the building of a large number of dwellings which will be required at the end of the war; the readjustment of the industrial conditions which will be created when the industry will have to be converted from war production to peace production; and also—what is equally important and of special significance to us on this side of the Atlantic—the application of more science to the building up of the social life, in view of the lessons which the war has taught us, and of the things we have seen resulting from our makeshift, haphazard policy of social development in the past.

COMMONWEALTH HOUSING PROBLEM

The question of housing was discussed by me on two occasions yesterday, but I want to refer to an aspect of that question which is perhaps of more commonwealth interest than local interest. The question of housing the people is one which I think should not be left to the municipalities and the federal government. The commonwealth should be interested in this question. Your commonwealth government should assist the municipalities in their housing schemes and should be prepared with the machinery necessary to give skilled advice. There are two questions from the commonwealth point of view that I should like to refer to. We were discussing yesterday the question of whether this situation in regard to housing in Portland was a temporary or a permanent question. Well, one reason why we look upon it as a temporary question arises through localizing it too much. You may have a drift of population from one part of the commonwealth to another, which creates a deficiency of houses in one district and an excess in another district; but taking a large region like the commonwealth of Oregon and looking at it as a whole, then the problem necessarily assumes a permanent form, whether in one locality there is a temporary excess or in another locality there is a temporary deficiency.

BUILDING ON VACANT LOTS IN PORTLAND

One of the chief things that should be done in the city of Portland in connection with its housing policy is to try and fill up some of the vacant spaces already served by local improvements. You have large vacant spaces all through this city which, owing to real estate speculation, are not used either for purposes of agricultural production or residences, because too much land has been subdivided. More land has been subdivided than has been wanted for residence purposes, but these vacant spaces are not all of them single lots or small estates; I saw some where you have five, ten, twenty and probably more acres comparatively near the public services, within walking distance of your street railways, where the government and the people of the locality could formulate quite satisfactory housing schemes without having to go out and

create garden cities. I mean by garden cities, communities at some distance from the city, and connected with it by means of a rapid transportation system. There is a particular reason in dealing with this housing question in Portland for not going outside and creating garden cities at the present time, and that is, you can not under existing circumstances look forward to see any considerable extension of your street railway system. Moreover, the topography of this city is such that, in any case, your workmen have to live at some distance from their places of employment in the shipyards, and therefore you have to take measures to concentrate your development to a considerable extent. While I would like to see a garden city created on cheap land outside of Portland, I would also like to see carried out, simultaneously, the filling up of some of the vacant land within the city, if such land can be obtained at reasonable cost with the help of government money.

THE HEALTHY CHARACTER OF THE SMALL TOWN

That brings me to the second point I referred to, where the commonwealth is interested in the permanent aspects of this problem. In Canada I have been made to realize that the small town is the healthiest community we have. Even those who are anxious to boost the big city of Portland, I think must admit that on this American continent the progressive, well managed cities of twenty to a hundred thousand people, have the healthiest conditions. I think that Viscount Bryce once suggested that three hundred thousand should be the maximum size to which a city should be permitted to go, but we can not under any artificial method restrict the growth of a city. But judged by the only test which should be applied, namely, the average level of prosperity of each citizen, and not by the number of people in the city, the small towns and cities are the healthiest forms of community.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF TOWN AND COUNTRY

Now, that is largely due to the fact that in the small city you are able to maintain the equilibrium between agriculture and manufacture and that in the larger towns you cut off production from the consumer, you make it more difficult for the people in the city to realize the interdependence of town and

country life. I think this conference, if it accomplishes nothing else, fulfils a splendid object in demonstrating the interrelation of these rural and urban problems. You can not in this country expect the continued growth of still greater New Yorks and Philadelphias without creating enormous social problems, almost impossible to solve because of the crowded and unscientific way in which these developments have taken place. Consider, for instance, the tremendous difficulties in matters of transportation by reason of the enormous congregation of people and industry in comparatively small areas, and the necessity—which we realize at the present moment—of having a system of distribution more perfectly adjusted to suit that close crowding of the people in great cities. In spite of all the science and all the study which you people have brought to bear upon the question of transportation and upon building of factories and warehouse and office buildings, the condition in New York today is one where from a purely financial standpoint the people are finding it almost impossible to solve the problems which have been created by congestion.

Now, in a commonwealth, you are able, by looking at the question in its broad regional aspect, to escape from being affected with the mania for over-centralization of population. You want to develop the commonwealth as a whole; you want to have the fullest development of your resources—and as the writer of the paper said this morning, in order to secure that you must have efficient development of your system of transportation—but with the conservation of your natural resources and the efficient development of your system of transportation your work will be largely wasted if you do not pay most attention to the conservation of your human resources. We must apply human skill and energy to the land resources so as to convert these resources to human use, thus giving us the combination that is the foundation of wealth. Next in order we want the means of transportation to distribute what we convert from nature into forms suitable for distribution. Now, there we have, I think, the logical sequence of things needed to build up your commonwealth. You must build up a healthy and efficient population, develop your resources in land minerals and forests and secure the proper distribution of these in order to make profit and success.

FEDERAL AND STATE ORGANIZATION

Commonwealth organization is not enough, however. The state has relations to the federal government. I do not see why the federal government in a country like the United States, like our own government in Canada, should not have attached to its commission of conservation a special branch dealing with the conservation of human resources. You have large destruction of human life in your country as a result of avoidable diseases. You have a larger infantile death rate than you should have in a civilized country; you have an economic loss in consequence of preventable sickness which has been estimated at hundreds of millions of dollars per annum, according to your own statisticians; you have a large number of public buildings occupied by feeble-minded, the result not of heredity but of environment and bad social conditions. This country is responsible under its constitution and under its democratic government to look after the weakest and the poorest with the same care that it looks after the well-to-do in your cities. As a purely economic and business matter there is need for federal action in investigating and advising regarding complex social questions. We are at war; our boys are being killed and maimed at the front; we are losing valuable lives, lives which, otherwise, would have helped us to produce wealth in the future. Those of us who are getting older will not take the place of the boys who have their university educations and their physique, energy and enthusiasm all buried in a sea of blood. We are also losing existing surplus wealth and we want the best possible means to organize for the increase of wealth in the future in order to compete with countries like Germany and Austria, when reorganized after the war. How are we to do this if we rely upon the present methods which cause so much waste? Because of your immense natural resources, you have been able to waste a great deal without feeling it, to enjoy prosperity in spite of that waste, but the time must come when with one hundred million people you can not act as indifferently about these things as you did in the days of Franklin and John Quincy Adams, when the bulk of your population were living on the land and you hadn't these big civic problems confronting you which involve the wastage of so much valuable physical and mental power.

SCIENCE NEEDED IN CONNECTION WITH DEVELOPMENT IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

Surely the right thing to do is not to say—because it is obviously futile to say it—“we do not want any more big cities because they create slums, and we do not want to settle the returned soldiers on the farms because rural isolation creates the same conditions that the slums create.” The right thing is to say, “we do want cities but we must apply science and intelligence to render these cities as healthy as the best country districts we have. We do want to be sure, on the other hand, that our country districts are closely settled so that social intercourse and education equal to what we have in the city will be available.” Now, sir, there is no use in saying, “we have already an organization properly equipped to plan our social structure;” because while we have governments dealing with the development of our state and municipal life, they are largely concerned, if not entirely concerned, with the routine problems which come before them from day to day. They are not thinking of more than the immediate future.

In connection with national development, I would suggest that it were worth consideration whether you could not have in the United States a bureau attached to your commission of conservation, call it a commission of development, if you like, which would have concern for the whole problem of national development.

TRANSPORTATION BY ROAD

The question of transportation by road is one which has to be considered from the national as well as from the state point of view. That is being done to a certain extent but I am afraid the growth of interest in municipal, state and interstate highways has been largely a result of the interest of motorists. I say I am afraid, not because I object, but because I think the right initiative in these things should come from the governments. They should have anticipated and provided for the growth of automobile traction on the highways. Those who are interested in automobiles have organized themselves, and by building up public opinion have secured a large improvement in your highways. The farmers, too, have come to realize that good roads are really not so objectionable after all,

especially if somebody else pays for them. The farmers and the motorists have joined hands to improve the facilities of transportation by road. Now is the time when that should be taken hold of as a government question. It is being done in states by highway commissions, but it should be organized for the whole country and dealt with as a question which requires the same intelligent national organization as the building of great railway systems. We know perfectly well that there is a great future for motor traction. I am told that one of the lessons of the war is that motor traction should take the place of a large amount of the work that has formerly been done by the railroads.

THE STATE AND THE MUNICIPALITY

Then returning from the federal to your commonwealth problems. A commonwealth, or a state, has a definite family relation to the city and the town, or village. The city is said to be the creature of the state, and in a sense that is true. The commonwealth of the state, by reason of your constitution, is concerned in a very intimate way with questions connected with the development of land. If you want some powers to deal with condemnation of property; if you want to limit the use of land to the owner; if you want, as in the case of Seattle, to prevent the owner of a brick field from using it for the making of bricks because it would injure the amenities of the district; if you want to deal with questions like that, you will find that it is the state rather than the municipality that has power to deal with these things, and, indeed, with all legislation affecting the right of eminent domain. Now that being so, it is of great importance that in all your work of developing your cities and towns and rural districts, there should be complete cooperation between the state government and the local government. I know the tendency at the moment is to plead for home rule. But home rule *per se* is no remedy. What you want is a better adjustment of the relationship between your state and your city governments to secure the most effective results and not anything in the nature of separation. In that connection, without going into details, I consider it is as imperative for you as it is for us in Canada to have attached to your state government an expert depart-

ment to deal with all questions of local administration and to be ready to assist every local municipality in solving the problems with which it has to deal.

NEED OF STATE HOUSING CODES

Take the question of a housing code, I should not have a housing code for Portland. I should have two housing codes for the commonwealth of Oregon. I should have one housing code for every city and every town called the urban housing code for the commonwealth of Oregon, and I should have a rural housing code for those parts of the commonwealth of Oregon which were outside of the towns and cities. I should bring the whole commonwealth up to the standard which the state considered desirable under the advice of its medical officers and its engineers as the minimum standard necessary for the health of the people. Ah, but I think I hear one emphatic objection. Some of you are thinking: "We don't want the farmers up at Salem to come down to Portland and tell us whether we have enough light and air in our buildings in Portland; we know far more about it than they do." But it is not suggested that they should do so. I do not suggest that you should have the state government come in an autocratic way and tell Portland what to put in its housing code. What I suggest is that the municipalities should appoint representatives on a commonwealth conference to cooperate with the state government in formulating that code. Then it will not be a case of imposing something from the outside, but of jointly agreeing to do something which is best for the whole region combined in this commonwealth. You simply cooperate and say: "We in Portland and Salem and Albany and other towns and in rural districts in this state decide, after taking expert advice, that these are the minimum housing standards for cities and rural districts respectively, and in our housing policy throughout the state we are going to stand by it as a commonwealth law."

LAND SETTLEMENT

I must refer briefly to the question of land settlement. I heard your discussion regarding the question of lumber. Our western province in Canada, British Columbia, is also our richest province in the matter of lumber. That lumber is very valuable. It produces certain revenues to the province.

The man who contributes that revenue does it because he anticipates profits for himself. He sometimes gets them, and other times he does not. The process of using up the lumber goes on. We haven't proper arrangements made for redeveloping these forests which we are destroying—or rather, I should say, which we are using up. We haven't even the German "efficiency" in the matter of reforestation, because we have so much lumber that we do not see the necessity of conserving it just yet. Surely, however, now is the time to plan to reconstruct our forests rather than when we find ourselves up against high prices and tremendous shortage of valuable timber. We are already facing, in connecting with paper making, a condition of shortage and high prices. Side by side with the using up of our lumber we have the stumpage left on the land. We have valuable land which we can not use for this reason, and it costs more to clear that land than it is worth for agriculture. We may get some fellow who comes over from the old country with five thousand dollars in his pocket, to take three hundred acres, free, on the condition that he clears it. He happens to be ignorant enough to think that he is getting something for nothing; but the man who knows about farming and who knows the cost of clearing these stumps is not going to take that land for nothing. It is too dear at the price. He prefers, because it is cheaper, to buy improved land nearer the railways, ready for him to produce his crop. This kind of land development is unsound, economically, for us, and may it not be so for you? If there is a profit out of lumber for the provincial or state government; if there is some profit out of lumbering for the man who is cutting it, why should not these profits bear some of the costs of clearing and not let the whole burden fall upon the man who is going to buy it for a farm? The province of British Columbia should keep accounts and should have on the credit side all moneys which it derives from its forests, and on the other it should put the cost of clearing, and debit that cost against part at least of the profits derived from the forests themselves. I do not think the province is entitled to take a profit for cutting down timber unless it uses a considerable part of that profit in making the land useful for some other purpose, if not for growing more timber. If it is rich agricul-

tural land from which the timber is taken, the profit from the timber should stand the cost of at least making the land useful enough for agricultural purposes so that we can have it transferred to somebody for that use. For instance, if a farmer is willing to pay one hundred dollars an acre for cleared land and is not willing to take the land which is uncleared, that should mean that the province, by using up to date machinery and getting rid of these stumps should itself clear the land and sell it at its improved value. It would not spend all its timber profits in clearing the land but merely the difference between what the farmer would pay and what it cost to take off the stumpage. If the land wasn't worth clearing it should be reforested. We have to get down to a business basis in these matters and not use all the profits we get from the existing crop, but use some of it to make that land productive for some other purpose.

REGIONAL SURVEY OF STATE RESOURCES

In connection with all these matters I think every state should have a regional survey made of its resources, and a classification of its land. We have had in the past a geological survey of our territory. We have beautifully coloured maps which show the different strata all through our countries. We need in the future to have another series of maps on which we shall not show the geological strata but on which we shall show the classification of lands for the different economic uses to which they are best adapted. For instance: Timber lands unsuitable for agriculture under the control of the timber reserve department; grazing lands, to be subdivided into thousand-acre tracts if unsuitable for dividing into smaller farms; larger ranches, if you will, more distant from the railway; mixed farming land; market garden lands; lands suitable for this purpose and that purpose; sites where there is good water power and valuable raw materials suitable for new towns; sites suitable for building docks. These should be investigated, considered, and put on the map as a guide for future development. We have built hundreds of new towns in Canada in the last few years. Some of these towns are in the wrong place because we never gave adequate consideration to their location. The scientific investigation of future town-

sites is not a ridiculous thing but is in line with the best social development; the selection of areas for airplane industry and for flying and the more intensive use of your railway systems need to be considered.

If each state would plan and classify all its lands, the federal government would then have gradually built up for it a map of the United States showing how the rich western lands, for instance, were unpeopled and how your resources were capable of providing means of employment for a greatly increased number of people.

EXPERT ADVICE

I think you are beginning in the United States to appreciate the necessity of having expert advice. The bringing in of a temporary expert adviser to prepare a town plan or a sewage disposal plant, or some other kind of thing, is not so good as the system you have in operation in Dayton, Ohio, where the expert is part of the permanent machinery of government.

In the administration of local affairs, more reliance should be placed upon managing engineers. Dayton is one of those cities that strikes me this way: The people of Dayton have improved their conditions and improved their natural environment, and they are entitled to great credit. They had a great flood. You would never know it had been there. It destroyed a great portion of their city, and what they built up in place of that which was destroyed was better than what was there before.

Portland is a beautiful city. It is so beautiful that you are almost inclined to take credit for it yourselves; but almost all the beauty I have seen was given to you, it was handed down to you by Providence, and the only things that you deserve credit for are what you yourselves have done, not what has been given to you by nature. Now, in proportion as you have improved nature you deserve credit, not in proportion as you have destroyed it. Well, you can consider that from the point of view of your own conscience.

We do not scrap enough in the way of building structures. We seem to imagine when we invest money in building a house we should have a sinking fund carried on through to eternity. We should provide for depreciation of a house according to

the durability of the materials of which it is built, and then it should be demolished if it becomes unhealthy. Whenever a great disaster occurs, as in Dayton, the citizens really make money in rebuilding that city, outside of the direct loss due to the disaster, because they replace old decayed buildings by new ones.

In Dayton they have a city manager. I am not advocating a city manager as such, but a city manager who is an efficient engineer. Under Dayton's manager there are five departments, one of social welfare and four others. Because they employ a highly qualified engineer, trust him with responsibility, place confidence in his work, they get a far better result than when they have a man without proper qualifications acting in a subsidiary capacity at the call of politicians running the city. Some cities and towns are so foolish as to do without engineers. I know a city in Canada where they have no engineer in a city of eight thousand people. The man who looks after the asphalt pavements and the construction of the concrete sidewalks and the sewers and other things in that city is some merchant who would not let me show him how to conduct a sale over his counter because I would be interfering with his business. That man runs the technical work of the city as chairman of the board of works with the same presumption and assurance as if he had been trained as a bachelor of science at McGill university and had had fifty years experience as a municipal engineer and would no doubt tell me, if I were to make suggestions, that the running of a city was a thing that required local information only. Are you surprised that under these conditions we have high taxes, that we have to pull up our pavements after a few years because they are not properly laid, or that our water mains leak and our sewers are inadequate.

EDUCATION IN RELATION TO STATE DEVELOPMENT

Now that brings me to my last point, and that is the importance, if you are going to have more employment of engineering advice, of improving your educational system. You already have your faculties of architecture and your faculties of engineering. But is training on the broad lines needed to deal with these great state problems of social

development and regional survey? Do you not need to get some, at least, of your architects and engineers out of the rut of technical training in separate units of construction, and teach them to relate their training to the comprehensive treatment of the living social issues and economic problems of communities? I would like to see some means of securing the training of architectural specialists in regional planning; the men who had gone through an architectural course and had learned to appreciate the beautiful, to develop their imaginations, to understand the composition of buildings and their right proportions, but taught at the same time to give adequate thought to the grouping of buildings, to the economics of social life and to development of communities. I should like to see municipal engineers equipped with sufficient knowledge to understand not only about the planning and construction of streets, sewers and other municipal works as detached improvements, but also about the intimate connection between these improvements and social conditions, traffic conditions and industrial conditions in all their bearings within both the narrow limits of the small municipality and the wider limits of the commonwealth. You can not create one professional class to deal with all aspects of town and regional planning. You will have to develop architects and engineers to specialize in the work of dealing with different aspects. In addition, you ought to aim at having some men trained to coordinate all planning operations. For that last purpose you almost need to create a new profession by greatly enlarging and improving the training and scope of duties of the surveyor.

It will be no credit to this commonwealth if it succeeds in doing things as well as older countries. You have before you the lessons of all the evils that they have committed in older civilizations, you have the advantage of starting at a more advanced stage of human progress, with improved opportunities, due to the development of modern science. In proportion only as you do better than other countries will you be able to take credit for yourselves.

At this time of war we are forced to recognize that many of the old theories about individualism and liberty to do what one likes with one's own, are unsound. Liberty may be an evil as well as a good thing, and it is an evil thing when

it results in social injustice. If the liberty I have to do with my own what I like injures my neighbor and interferes with his liberty, then the city and the state should come in to prevent me from carrying out what is an unsocial and unjust operation. In the past we have placed too much emphasis on the sacredness of property and too little emphasis on the sacredness of life.

May we make sure both in Canada and in Oregon that the value we have gained from past experience does not blind us to the new issues of the future. Let us take steps to anticipate that future by means of planning and organization, by practical measures; by measures which appeal to the unprejudiced and intelligent commercial man, as well as to the university man, by measures which will satisfy the two great forces that are now coming into political and social power in a real sense; one of these is labor, educated, made intelligent by education, awakening to new desires, striking out to exercise new functions, ready to grow into a force of evil or of good; and womanhood born into a new freedom, ready to exercise its influence in bringing about a better adjustment of our social relations, open also to become a source of strength or weakness as it may be used and developed in public life. The main object of all our schemes of development in state and municipality must be to produce the highest type of citizenship, and if you worthily and energetically pursue that object, instead of devoting yourselves to the selfish end of squeezing all you can out of your material and human resources, then surely the wealth and prosperity which must await this fair commonwealth of yours will be great indeed.

Financing State Enterprises

IN 1859 Oregon was admitted as a state. For more than fifty years it was the proud boast of its people that the state had no bonded indebtedness. The old territorial motto, "Alis Volat Propriis"—"she flies with her own wings"—well reflects the sturdy independence, the self reliance, the courage and pride of the early settlers. They knew and practiced the virtues of economy and self denial that they might pass on to those who followed them, free from all indebtedness, a heritage as fair as any on this earth.

All praise to the early settlers for their Spartan virtues—but they were in error—an error on the right side, but nevertheless an error. No state has a greater asset than good credit. Not to use it, wisely and conservatively of course, is to hold back the progress of the State and to stunt the just and proper development of its resources.

But perhaps 'tis just as well that our predecessors did not use the credit of the state, since fifty, nay twenty-five years ago, borrowing on time by issuing long term bonds, mortgaging the future for the needs of the present, was not generally understood by the people of Oregon. For it is a crime committed on posterity to mortgage the assets of the state, spend the proceeds, and leave the debt to be paid by those who have neither enjoyed nor benefited by the expenditures. In other words, it is neither fair, just, nor honorable for a community or state to issue long time bonds without providing for the regular and gradual extinguishment of the debt during the life of the bonds. This should be done either by establishing a sinking fund or by issuing serial bonds; preferably the latter as serial bonds compel an annual reduction of the debt that completely liquidates the obligation at maturity.

Oregon pioneers were honorable men, but they did not generally understand the scientific use of credit and, fearing debt and its evil consequences, they went to the other extreme, made no use of their state's credit, did only those things that could be paid for from the current revenues and by so doing

checked materially the growth of the state which needed only to be stimulated by the proper use of credit to have developed by this time into one of the greatest and richest states of the Union.

That you may more fully appreciate the foregoing remarks and better understand the evils, danger, and injustice of unscientific financing by long time bond issues, it is proper, by way of illustration, to call your attention for a moment to the heavy burden of indebtedness Portland's citizens are carrying today; indebtedness for which they have nothing to show and from which they receive no benefits unless it be the doubtful benefit of experience which may teach them not to do unto others what others have done to them.

June 1, 1891, the city of Albina (now a part of Portland) issued \$40,000 in bonds to cover current expenses. Up to date, \$66,000 has been paid in interest on these bonds and as yet not a dollar has been paid on the principal. What justification can there be for passing this debt on to the next generation, a debt incurred for day to day municipal expenses? None—it is financial immorality. It is not fair, it is not honorable, it is sowing the wind and leaving others to reap the whirlwind.

December 1, 1898, the city of Portland issued \$340,000 30-year 5% refunding bonds to take up a floating indebtedness incurred for this, that, and the other daily need of the city, and Heaven only knows what else besides. Twenty years have passed since the bond issue was made—not a dollar of principal has been paid, but the interest alone has already cost the city \$430,000, an amount equal to the principal. To hold the annual tax levy down (and thereby make a record) by postponing for thirty years the payment of indebtedness then due was a kind of finance that appealed to aspiring solons who thought only of today and gave no heed to the morrow. If these had been serial bonds, one thirtieth payable each year out of the annual city revenues, it would not have been so bad, but to pass the whole debt off onto another generation was unjust, immoral, and a cowardly shirking of financial responsibility.

However, to fund a lot of outstanding warrants into bonds drawing a lower rate of interest is not reprehensible financing

provided a compulsory annual retirement of the debt is mandatory in the bond. This menace of a large floating debt was the cause of a wise provision in the next Portland city charter by which no warrants could be issued unless there were funds in the city treasury with which to pay them. This has put Portland on a cash basis for current expenses and so perhaps in the long run the \$430,000 bond issue was worth all it has cost the city. Incidentally, if it were possible for the legislature to pass a general act requiring such a provision to be incorporated in all city charters it would be wise legislation and accomplish much toward keeping our cities on a sound financial basis.

What do you think of \$60,000 Portland bonds still outstanding that were issued for the purchase of the Stark street ferry of which only old time residents have a memory? What do you think of \$200,000 bonds outstanding and not maturing until April 1, 1925, issued in 1895 for the purchase of the old Morrison street bridge which was torn down nine years after the bonds were issued?

These are but scattered instances of poor municipal financing; there may be others, but enough have been mentioned to call your attention to the dangers of financing city or state enterprises by long time bond issues unless adequate provision is made in the bond for the retirement of the principal of the debt at maturity either by establishing a proper sinking fund or by the annual payment of a just pro-rata of the debt. The later method, or the issue of serial bonds, is most favored in Massachusetts where a legislative committee has given time and study to the subject.

Before passing from this preliminary discussion of bond issues to the main topic under discussion, "Financing State Enterprises," it is but fair to state that later Portland city administrations have profited by the errors of their predecessors—a sinking fund has been established in which, on January 1, 1919, there were \$1,171,737.25, an amount, however, insufficient to retire outstanding bonds at their maturity. Nevertheless it is a long, long step on the road to sound financing. Moreover, annually out of the city's revenue there is now contributed to this fund \$121,000, a goodly sum, but not enough to meet the debts inherited from earlier administra-

tions. An instance of good municipal financing moreover is the recent serial bond issue of \$100,000 for the Portland crematory—\$10,000 of which is due and paid each year; the whole debt will be liquidated easily in ten years and by those who enjoy the benefits of the bond issue.

But this meeting has been called to consider plans of reconstruction, not to discuss Portland's finances except insofar as Portland's experience may serve to aid us in our endeavors to develop Oregon's resources wisely and to make it a better state for those who follow us.

From what has gone before, you readily can see there are two ways of financing state enterprises.

One, ultra-conservative, was adopted by the pioneers—a policy of paying cash for everything and keeping the state free of debt. It has much in its favor and insofar as current expenses are concerned should be maintained rigidly. But it makes no use of the state's greatest asset, credit, and precludes any development of the state's resources except in the most meager and slowest fashion.

The other method of financing is by long-time bond issues, pledging the credit of the state for funds with which to make large and immediate development of the state's resources. Such a policy has many dangers arising in large part, however, from giving support to enterprises of doubtful value and dangerous also because so few people appreciate that for a state as for an individual good credit only can be maintained by making due provision to meet a debt when it matures. A debt deferred is not a debt paid. To issue bonds and then more bonds in settlement of the first issue is but piling Ossa on Pelion; is but compounding troubles for unborn generations.

But even though financing by bond issues is surrounded by many dangers—dangers of extravagance, incompetence, and ignorance—nevertheless it is the only way to finance enterprises requiring large capital expenditures and is entirely proper provided provision is made to retire the debt in a reasonable length of time; and the fairest and best way of extinguishing the debt is to require the payment each year of a pro-rata proportion. In the case of state bond issues such annual payment must be made from the revenue derived from the enterprise or provided for in the budget of annual expenses.

Unless adequate provision to extinguish the debt is made in every state bond issue it were better that we cleave to the policy of the pioneers, undertake only those things that we can pay for as we go, make no use of Oregon's credit, and hand on to the next generation the unencumbered heritage we have received from those who went before us. Up to date the state bonded indebtedness is comparatively small, under four million dollars, as I remember, and consists mainly of highway bonds. These are twenty-five year serial bonds; the maturities begin in five years and thereafter every six months, April 1st and October 1st, until the last installment of principal is paid at the end of the twenty-fifth year.

Taking for granted then that future bond issues will be properly safeguarded and no wrong done to posterity, let us discuss what enterprises are proper to be undertaken by the state.

It goes without saying that enterprises that are for the benefit of the whole state, benefits in which everyone in the state is entitled to participate, should be financed wholly by the state. But there are other enterprises somewhat local in character and yet adding materially to the wealth of the state, which are entitled to state aid.

Let us discuss these two classes of enterprises, first taking up those that benefit the whole state.

Naturally within this class fall the educational institutions, Oregon Agricultural College, University of Oregon, the Normal School; also the state institutions, for instance, the asylums, the penitentiary, the reform school, etc., etc. Of course the current expenses of these institutions must be met by annual legislative appropriations, but large capital expenditures properly could be cared for by bond issues. For instance, it is said that our penitentiary is all that it should not be, that in the interest of humanity alone a new one is needed. With the 6% limitation on expenditures a new one can not be built for years from current revenue. Nor should it be required of us—it is entirely proper that the funds necessary be obtained from the sale of state bonds, *provided*, however, that there is an annual retirement of these bonds sufficient to liquidate the entire issue by the time the new penitentiary became obsolete, say in twenty-five or thirty years. As with the penitentiary, so with the other state institutions.

Should there be any unusual expenditure required for improvements that are of permanent value, it is not improper to finance such improvements by the issue of state bonds, *provided* always that the bonds are retired by annual payments of the principal and that under no consideration is a debt passed on to posterity for improvements or for enterprises from which our descendants have received no benefit—and even should the next generation benefit somewhat by the improvement, nevertheless provision should be made for the full payment of the debt within a reasonable length of time. Only by such financing may the credit of the state be kept unimpaired.

It is entirely proper to construct state highways at the expense of the state and to finance the construction by the sale of state bonds. By state highways is meant the main arteries of travel and not local roads built for the enjoyment of the few at the expense of the many. It never should be forgotten, however, that roads wear out and are in constant need of repair. For this reason the bonds should be serial bonds of reasonably short maturity and those who profit most by the roads should contribute most to the payment of the interest charges and to the fund necessary to retire the bonds as they mature. For instance, it is only fair and just that heavy auto trucks which do much to destroy a road should pay a very considerable tax. I hold no brief for the railroads, nor am I either director, stockholder or bondholder in any of them, but is it fair to a railroad that buys its right-of-way and constructs and equips its roadway, to tax heavily the values thus created in order that highways may be built and maintained for the free use of huge motor trucks that as time goes on bid fair to become more and more dangerous competitors for business?

A proper method of levying a just tax on motor trucks would be by adjusting the license fee in proportion to the carrying capacity of the truck and by penalizing narrow tired trucks and fining heavily those exceeding a certain speed limit. A heavily loaded truck speeding at fifteen or twenty miles an hour is most destructive to the highway. If fines do not hold down the speeders, then they should be compelled to be equipped with some sort of governors that automatically would check their speed.

Not only motor trucks should be roundly taxed for the use of the highways, but passenger autos also, whether run for pleasure or profit. The license fees now collected by the state easily could be doubled without doing injustice to anyone.

Another proper tax on autos and trucks is to lay a state tax on gasoline. This would be fair inasmuch as the more gasoline consumed the more use there is made of the highways and in consequence the fairer the apportionment of the tax.

In former times toll roads were the best roads in the older states. They were built and maintained by the money received at the toll gates. It is within the possibilities that we may revert again to this method of our ancestors for collecting road taxes.

But in issuing highway bonds, above and before all else must ever be kept the principle that it is our duty to pay our debts during the lifetime of an improvement and not pass them on to posterity. Only by so doing have we any right to pledge the credit of the state which is a valued heritage received from those who have gone before and which should be passed on to those who follow without encumbrance incurred for our own particular enjoyment and benefit. Any other policy is unfair and unjust and a crime against posterity.

Time forbids any further and lengthy discussion of financing state enterprises that are for the benefit of the whole state, such as developing water power on a large scale, but enough has been said, I hope, to establish clearly in your minds that such financing to be sound, honest and conservative must provide for the annual retirement of the debt created; must provide that the maturity of the debt does not exceed the life of the improvement; and that those who benefit most must pay the most toward retiring the indebtedness.

Before concluding these remarks permit me to speak a word concerning those enterprises that are local in character and yet are entitled to financial support from the state.

Foremost among such enterprises are irrigation and drainage districts. What may be said of them will apply in greater or less degree to other enterprises local in character and yet deserving of state aid.

A state is only a geological division of territory, and its financial strength is but the combined strength of its com-

ponent parts. Anything that affects the welfare of any part of the state more or less affects the welfare of the whole. Conversely, if the whole can give aid to any unit of the state without unduly jeopardizing the general credit, it should be done. For instance, just as if the state were the father of a family who, called upon to assist one of his children, should comply with the request if by so doing he does not unreasonably favor one child at the expense of the rest. Bearing this thought in mind, I believe it is proper for the state to lend its credit to irrigation or drainage districts, if by so doing no injustice is done to the other portions of the state.

If this is true, it follows that the greatest care must be exercised in estimating the amount of financial aid required by the district. Before the state loans its credit the plans of the proposed district should be investigated by the most competent authorities. The feasibility and probable success of the enterprise should be weighed carefully by competent state authorities who should ever lean to conservatism and always beware of enterprises that are proposed largely for the benefit of the promoters and but little for the benefit of actual settlers.

Once the irrigation or drainage project has been so approved, the state should issue the bonds necessary to provide the money for the enterprise. In this way much more favorable rates can be obtained for money than if the district itself attempted to borrow directly from the public, since ill conceived irrigation projects have made such bonds most unpopular and difficult of sale.

To secure the state for this loan of credit, the district should issue its own bonds in an amount slightly in excess of the bonds issued by the state. This is because the state bonds must pay interest semi-annually from the date of issue, while, on the other hand, no irrigation or drainage district safely can promise to pay interest for at least three years after being inaugurated.

Of course the bonds of the irrigation or drainage district should be serial bonds beginning to mature, say four years after issue, and should be a first lien upon all the property within the district. Just as the counties pay the state their proportion of taxes, so the districts should be compelled to

pay to the state the amount due for interest and the annual amount due for the retirement of bonds. This tax should be collected as other taxes are.

If due caution is used in making such advances of state credit, there may be no more loss incurred than if the state buys the school bonds of any school district. Reckless administration, however, might cause the state heavy losses which in such event would have to be borne by all within the state. Therefore conservatism and caution should be the watchword of those who are charged with this duty.

In conclusion, let me again reiterate the principles that should govern financing of all state enterprises, to wit:

First, all bonds should provide for a sinking fund that will be sufficient to retire the bonds at maturity, or they should be serial bonds maturing annually.

Second, bonds should be of a reasonable maturity and none should be issued of a longer maturity than the estimated life of the improvement; any other method is unfair, unjust, and a financial crime committed against future generations.

Oregon's Abounding Energy In War Work To Be Turned To Oregon Planning and Development

THE great war as a long-sustained and intense struggle on an unparalleled scale not only tried out the profoundest human issues but it also brought into play the best that human nature holds in its depths. It gave time for the higher purposes and deeper realities to move into action, to take command and to achieve the more lasting victory. It enkindled a new spirit in humanity. Humanity as a whole was born again.

However destructive, abhorrent and inhuman were the incidents in the course of the war, the duration of it, the inclusive range of it and the opportunities for collective thought and mutual aid that it afforded brought the real awakening of the ultra human and godlike possibilities of humanity. It made possible a leap ahead of at least half a century in all the phases of real progress. Shall the Oregon people, who acquitted themselves so nobly in their part in the war rise to the occasion in this hour of opportunity for planning and development and realize the full measure of their commonwealth possibilities? Without remitting in their forceful support of the right and lasting settlement of the world's peace will they bring to bear the same spirit of unity, the same mood of high endeavor and be possessed of the same clearness of insight in identifying their higher interests in their problems at home? If so, there need be no limit to the joy of living in Oregon.

The Oregon people surprised themselves with their signal response to the nation's and to the world's needs. Can they match those responses with like consummate handling of their commonwealth interests? As a territory Oregon had as her motto: *Alis Volat Propriis* (She flies with her own wings). It is now up to her, if ever, to exhibit her wings through clear thinking, through ready concert in effort and through faith in herself as a commonwealth. The hour and the occasion for a supreme constructive policy and effort are at hand.

The physical and the population bases for an outstanding achievement in commonwealth planning and building are Oregon's. The combination of proper land, climate and other resources and of credit are hers such that Oregon is warranted in aspiring to at least as high a level of living, and to establishing herself there, as is any other community on this earth. And moreover, it is exceedingly difficult to imagine how so favorable a combination of conditions will be likely to recur for a leap onward and upward as kind destiny has brought to us in this year 1919.

Nature endowed Oregon with a combination of factors with which to set the pace in all that is best for humanity to strive for. That territorial motto was in its fitness sheer prophecy if full advantage is taken of her endowment and of the present situation. Their war work effort and their war experience revealed to the Oregon people that it is easy and natural to rise to leadership in noble accomplishment. In this day of reconstruction to be first over the top and to be on towards an ever rising objective of progress is eminently in order. Such leadership will be normal. It will be strenuous and thus will mean life that is abundant and delightful.

Ardor and zeal for the advance upon the new objectives of planning and development in Oregon will be kindled if we but contemplate the meaning of the victory won. In the light of what it signifies every spark of aspiration is kindled. It means:

1. As health, best self-realization, adapted work, recreation and inspiring ideals are the really vital human interests in a democracy these must now be realized for all. Democracy must be real and not merely nominal, social and economic as well as political.

2. As the wonderfully effective system of communication and transportation of our time gives such sweep and intimacy of human interrelations and accelerates the rush of change planning and guidance of adjustment are imperative, if disaster is to be avoided. Mankind is too densely massed and is moving too fast in its tangle of relations to proceed without planning and intelligently directed development.

3. With this dense massing and interdependence, especially within all nationalities, an increasing range of common interests emerge for which collective agencies and activities as public utilities alone will suffice. It becomes necessary to anticipate the resources of posterity to make timely provision for posterity's needs of this character.

4. It has become a recognized human obligation that all should cooperate in contributing with essentially productive aid to the common good and that none should thrive through parasitical or exploitative activities. Such are the salient traits of the democratic world order upon which the masses have set their hearts.

The responsibility of the Oregon people as an organic part of the nation and of the world, while contributing their full share the general welfare, lies with our Oregon situation. The three quarters of a million now occupying Oregon are but the forerunners of the millions who would find here preferred home conditions. The factors of comfort and plenty are here if only collective planning and development were applied to reorder them. Some desirable modifications of the Oregon out-of-doors are quite beyond human power. The lowering of the general attitude of central and eastern Oregon and the making of a few additional breaks in the Cascade range for the moisture laden air currents from the Pacific are out of the question. It will not be possible either to compress the precipitations in western Oregon into briefer periods and have longer intervals of brighter days. It will, however, be quite feasible with collective planning and enterprise in drainage to lower the water plane in the wet season and render the soil much more productive. It will also be possible to store the surplus water of the wet season so as to multiply the resources for power and irrigation and thus make the conditions of living universal throughout western Oregon the equal to those of the best arranged garden city.

In the advance toward attainable ideals for Oregon the improvement of our institutions will keep pace with material betterment. And most of all its people will develop keenest delight in the world's best resources of culture, art and literature. These will be available to all and sought for by all. The material and institutional developments will have in this life imbued with real liberal democratic culture their true end.

